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Citation for published version (APA):

Roueché, C. (2009). The Kuretenstrasse: the imperial presence in Late Antiquity. In S. Ladstätter (Ed.), *Neue Forschungen zur Kuretenstrasse von Ephesos* (pp. 155-170). Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.

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The Kuretenstrasse: the imperial presence in Late Antiquity

For many years I have had the privilege of working on the late antique inscriptions of Ephesos. I have enjoyed the help and advice of many colleagues; in particular, I have had the epigraphic advice of Denis Feissel – whose insights are involved in much of what follows – and I have always been able to rely on the profound scholarship and understanding of Hilke Thür. It has been of enormous value to work with an archaeologist who will always pay attention to the issues raised by epigraphy.

The purpose of this article is to consider the location and the function of imperial statues and related texts in the Kuretenstrasse, in the late antique period. It seems useful to present the relevant inscriptions in full, and in terms of their location. I have recently discussed elsewhere what this material may tell us about the function of the imperial image in late antiquity, in an article publishing all the late antique inscriptions honouring emperors from Ephesos.¹ My aim here is to consider what this material may tell us about the Kuretenstrasse in this period.

The imperial image had dominated Ephesos from the time of Augustus.² The visitor entering at the Magnesian gate found an Agora surrounded by major public buildings, with the images of Augustus and of later emperors displayed; colossal statues of Augustus and Livia seem to have dominated the Basilica Stoa; statues of the Antonines decorated the Bouleuterion.

¹ 'The imperial image in the street: the case of late antique Ephesos', R. Salway ed., *Acts of the Rencontre Epigraphique, Rome, 2004* (forthcoming).

² See, for a recent discussion, S. Friesen, *Imperial cults and the apocalypse of John* (Oxford, 2001), 95-101.

In the early fourth century this tradition was maintained. At some time between 340 and 350 proconsul Lucius Caelius Montius erected two statues of Constantius II and Constans in front of the Nymphaeum which he had restored. The two statues were found in 1911, as were, presumably the two bases;³ but only the base honouring Constans was published, so that the text honouring Constantius is published here for the first time.

I.Eph. 1316 Honours for Constans

Found in front of the Nymphaeum;⁴ last recorded (2007) in situ.

A statue base, (dimensions: 0.87 x 0.53 x 0.40; letters 0.03), with simple moulding above and below on three sides. Ligatures: *HN*, l. 5.

Plate 1.

τῷ δεσπότῃ ἡμῶν
 Κώσταντι *vac.*
 μεγίστῳ νεικητῇ
 καὶ τροπεούχῳ
 5 διηνεκεῖ σεβαστῷ
 Λ(ούκιος) Καίλ(ιος) Μόντιος
 ὁ λαμ(πρότατος) ἀνθύπατος
 δικαστῆς θείων
 διαγνώσεων
 10 ἀνανεωθέντος
 τοῦ μέρους τοῦ
vac. Νυμφείου *vac.*

³ Heberdey, *ÖJh* 15 (1912), Beibl. 137-8.

⁴ Recorded by Knibbe in 1962, *SkB* 3280, whence Eichler & Knibbe, *AAWW* 100, (1963) 47, whence *AE* 1968, 477; cf. Malcus, *OAth* 7 (1967) 103; from these *I.Eph.* 1316, *PHI* 2939.

ἀνέστησεν καὶ
καθιέρωσεν *vac.*
15 *vac.* εὐτυχῶς. *vac.*

Translation: To our master Constans, the greatest victor and triumphant, eternal augustus: Lucius Caelius Montanus the proconsul, *iudex sacrarum cognitionum*, erected and consecrated (this image) when the section of the Nympaeum had been renewed. With good fortune.

Inv. 5322 Honours for Constantius II

Found in the 'house' due south of the Bouleuterion;⁵ last recorded (2005) at findspot.

A base (dimensions: 0.85 x 0.46 x 0.22) with upper moulding chipped away for re-use; right side and lower left side chipped. Letters clear, with lunate forms of *E* and omega, but square in ligatures; 0.025-0.03; l. 15 0.04. Ligatures: *NE*, l. 3, *ME* l. 11.

Plate 2.

τῷ δεσπότη [ἡμῶν
Κωνσταντί[ω]
μεγίστῳ νεικη[τῇ]
καὶ τροπεούχ[ω]
5 διηνεκεῖ *scroll* σεβ[αστῷ]
Λ(ούκιος) Καίλ(ιος) Μόντιο[ς]
ν. ὁ λαμ(πρότατος) ἀνθύπ[ατος]
[δι]καστῆς *stop* θείων

⁵ Unpublished; recorded in 1998, now *SkB* 5322.

- [δι]αγνώσεω[ν]
 10 [ἀ]νανεωθέντ[ος]
 [τ]οῦ μέρους τοῦ
 Ν]υμφείου *vac.*
 [ἀ]νέστησεν *stop* καὶ
vac. καθιέρωσεν *stop*
vacat
 15 *vac.* εὐτυχῶς. *vac.*

Translation: To our master Constantius, the greatest victor and triumphant, eternal augustus: Lucius Caelius Montanus the proconsul, *iudex sacrarum cognitionum*, erected and consecrated (this image) when the section of the Nymphaeum had been renewed. With good fortune

These two statues, however, appear to be the latest imperial monuments in the Upper Agora. which was perhaps already starting to fall out of use. For the traveller coming down from the Upper Agora, as he came to the Hydreion, he found himself looking down two streets: that to the west (his left) is unexcavated; to the right the Kuretenstrasse began. In front of the Hydreion, the plinths can be seen for two statue bases, which project out in front of the main body of the building (Plate 3).⁶ The plinth for Diocletian's statue base is still in place; it stood to the east of the pair, that is, to the left of the viewer, with the statue of Maximian to the viewer's right.

Of these, one, honouring Diocletian, was found complete:

⁶ See the illustration at *JÖAI* 45 (1960) Beibl. 27, Plate 15.

I.Eph. 308: Honours for Diocletian ⁷

Found at the northern end of the Hydreion, where it stood 'vor der südlichen Ecke des nördlichen Beckens'. The base can be seen restored to its original position in *JÖAI* 45 (1960) Beibl. 27, Plate 15; the base shaft is last recorded (2005) in the Depot, but the plinth is still in place.

A statue base (dimensions: 1.2 m high x 0.505 wide x 0.52 thick). Letters 0.04-0.05; florid and irregular, with exaggerated serifs. Dot for stop.

Plate 4.

	restitutori totius
	orbis ac super omnes
	retro principes
	fortissimo ac clemen-
5	tissimo
	Imp(eratori) G(aio) Val(erio) Diocletiano p(io) f(elici)
	invicto Aug(usto)
	Iul(ius) Antoninus v(ir) p(erfectissimus) rat(ionalis)
	dicatus numini mai-
10	estatique eius.

Line 6: *SkB* has PP (so *I.Eph.*); P stop F stop on the stone.

Line 8: *SkB* has VPRAE; VPR *I.Eph.*; V.P. RAT. on the stone.

Translation: For him who has restored the whole world, and is strongest and most kind of all emperors before him, the Emperor Gaius Valerius Diocletian,

⁷ Recorded by Wickert in 1958, *SkB* 3012, and published by Miltner *AAWW* 96 (1959) 36, and *JÖAI* 45 (1960) Beibl. 25-26, whence *AE* 1966, 432; from these *I.Eph.* 308 and Add. p.8, whence *PHI* 1071. Published by Roueché, 'Image' 1.

pious, fortunate, undefeated Augustus. Julius Antoninus, *vir perfectissimus*, and a *rationalis*, who is dedicated to (the emperor)'s divinity and majesty.

Only the lower part of the partner base survives, but it should be assumed that it honoured Maximian. The honouring magistrate may well be the same man, Julius Antoninus, describing himself as *rationalis* in the first text, and as [rationalis] Asiae in the second.

***I.Eph.* 309 Honours for Maximian⁸**

Found 'im Schutt des Südabschnittes des Hydreions', where it stood 'am Südrand des Mittlebeckens'. Last recorded (2005) at findspot.

The lower part of a base shaft and lower moulded plinth (dimensions: 1.05 x 0.65 x 0.65; letters 0.05).

Plate 5

...]

[p]rovinciae Asiae dicatus

numini maiestatique eius.

Translation: ... (this was put up by so-and-so, an official/*?rationalis*) of the province of Asia, who is dedicated to (the emperor)'s divinity and majesty.

The positioning suggests that only two emperors were honoured, presumably at some time after 285 (Maximian becomes Caesar) or more probably 286 (Maximian becomes Augustus); the apparent absence of the Caesars may suggest

⁸ Recorded by Wickert, 25.8.1958, *SkB* 3010, whence Miltner, *AAWW* 96 (1959), 36, and *JÖAI* 45 (1960) Beibl. 25, whence *AE* 1966, 437; from these *I.Eph.* 309, whence *PHI* 1072. Published by Roueché, 'Image', 2.

a date before 293, but does not entirely exclude any date until the abdication in 305.⁹ They dominated the opening of the Kuretenstrasse, and apparently marked its beginning. This relationship was however broken when the Herakles Gate was constructed at some point in the fourth century. From then on, the gate must have served as the true 'entry' to the Kuretenstrasse.

By the year 400, the traveller from the south, passing through that gate, was confronted with a blaze of imperial imagery. It is entirely possible that the large base found to the east (the traveller's right) of the Herakles Gate bore an equestrian statue of an Emperor; and it is very likely that this emperor was Theodosius I. [Plate 6]. The following stretch of the street, on the east (right) was dominated by the long run of re-used statues of Victory, on either side of a statue of Aelia Flaccilla, wife of Theodosius and mother of his heir.¹⁰ This array must have presented an impressive representation of imperial power and victory long after the death of Flaccilla in 386. (Plate 7) There is evidence that this was in fact the location for ceremonials in the fifth or the sixth century. A paving stone directly in front of the statue of Flaccilla has an acclamation for the Green faction; a graffito on the side of the base next to that of Flaccilla has another invocation in favour of the Greens.¹¹ Such texts are probably not earlier than the mid-fifth century; they may well reflect the involvement of the Greens in some kind of ceremonial activity at this point.

⁹ F. A. Bauer, *Stadt, Platz und Denkmal in der Spätantike : Untersuchungen zur Ausstattung des öffentlichen Raums in den spätantiken Städten Rom, Konstantinopel und Ephesos* (Mainz 1996), 285, refers to statues of four tetrarchs: but there is no evidence for more than two statues.

¹⁰ C. Roueché, 'The image of Victory: new evidence from Ephesus', in *Mélanges Gilbert Dagron*, Travaux et Mémoires 14 (Paris 2002), 527-546.

¹¹ See now C. Roueché, with D. Feissel 'Interpreting the Signs: Anonymity and Concealment in Late Antique Inscriptions', in H. Amirav and B. ter Haar Romeny (eds.), *From Rome to Constantinople: Studies in Honour of Averil Cameron* (Leuven, 2007), 221-234.

The next monument on the right, after the array of victory statues, was the Fountain of Trajan. We know, from a fragmentary inscription (*I.Eph.* 600A), that this was restored in the fourth or fifth century, although there is no clear evidence of date. But it may be that this activity should be associated with the honours for Theodosius I and his family, since the Spaniard Theodosius was associated with Trajan in his propaganda. The *Epitome de Caesaribus* describes him as : *Theodosius, genitus patre Honorio, matre Thermantia, genere Hispanus, originem a Traiano principe trahens*,¹² so that Claudian can praise Honorius as *Ulpia progenies*.¹³ François Chausson has made careful study of these dynastic themes,¹⁴ he points out that Themistius refers principally to Trajan until 383, and then broadens his references to include the other Antonines. Among other passages, Themistius described Theodosius as having brought images of Trajan and the Antonines to the palace.¹⁵

The next imperial monument comes only a few metres further north, in the form of the four statues placed in front of the 'Temple of Hadrian' (Plate 8). These were, originally, a group of the four Tetrarchs (Diocletian and Maximian Augusti, and Constantius and Galerius Caesars , 296-305), erected by the proconsul of Asia, Junius Tiberianus,¹⁶ Viewed from the street and reading from right to left, in their present positions, the base at the south end is that for the Caesar Constantius :

¹² *Ep. de Caes.*, 48.

¹³ *De IV cons. Hon.*, 18-25.

¹⁴ I am most grateful to M. Chausson for discussions of this point, and for showing me the relevant passages in his forthcoming study, *Stemmata aurea: Constantin, Justine, Théodose. Revendications généalogiques et idéologie impériale au IV^e siècle* (Rome, 2007).

¹⁵ Themistius, *Or.* 34.7.

¹⁶ *PIR*² I 841, *PLRE* 1 Tiberianus 7.

I.Eph. 305.2 Honours for Constantius Caesar¹⁷

Standing at the southern end of the row, to the right of the viewer in the street..

A base, with moulded panels on three sides. The face has been reused, and the capital is separate; line one was cut on the capital (see the photograph in the 22nd report, *JÖAI* 44 (1959) Beibl. 279) which is now on *I.Eph.* 306. The move seems to have taken place during the reconstruction of the temple; the capital was on the wrong base by 1957 (see 23rd Report, for 1957, *JÖAI* 44 [1959] Beibl. 377, pl. 200).

Plate 9

B(ona) *vac.* F(ortuna)

fortissimo principi

iuventutis d(omino) n(ostro)

Constantio nobil(issimo)

Caesari *stop*

Iun(ius) Tiberianus v(ir) c(larissimus)

proco(n)s(ul) Asiae d(evotus) n(umini) m(aiestati-)

que eius

Translation: To Good Fortune. To the most strong *princeps iuventutis*, our lord the most noble Constantius Caesar. Iunius Tiberianus, v.c., proconsul of Asia, being devoted to his divinity and his majesty.

¹⁷ Recorded by Miltner, *SkB* 2766, and published by him *JÖAI* 44 (1959) Beibl. 266-268, whence *AE* 1967, 477; cf. Malcus, *OAth* 7 (1967) 99, no. II; from these *I.Eph.* 305.2, whence *PHI* 1075. Published by Roueché, 'Image', 5. Illustrated: *JÖAI* 44 (1959) Beibl., 280, plate 129.

To the right of Constantius, to the south of the main entrance, stands the base for Diocletian:

***I.Eph. 305.1 Honours for Diocletian*¹⁸**

Standing to the north (right) of 5, south (left) of the main entrance to the Temple. A reused base with no panelling (dimensions: 1.15 x 0.90 x 0.85; letters 0.06-0.04). The capital is integral, and l. 1 is cut on its lower moulding. Line 3: *TR* in ligature.

Plate 10.

B(ona) *vacat* F(ortuna).
 optimo clementissimoque
 principi domino nostro
 Diocletiano invicto Aug(usto)
 Iunius Tiberianus v(ir) c(larissimus)
 proco(n)s(ul) Asiae d(evotus) n(umini) m(aiestati)q(ue)
 eius.

Translation: To Good Fortune. To the best and kindest prince, our lord Diocletianus invincible Augustus. Iunius Tiberianus, v.c., proconsul of Asia, being devoted to his divinity and his majesty.

To Diocletian's right, to the north of the doorway, would have stood a statue of Maximian, and to the north of that stands the base for Galerius (under his official name of Maximian):

***I.Eph. 305.3 Honours for Galerius Caesar*¹⁹**

¹⁸ Recorded by Miltner, *SkB* 2751, and published by him *JÖAI* 44 (1959) Beibl. 266-26, whence *AE* 1967, 477; cf. Malcus, *OAth* 7 (1967, 94) no. I; from these *I.Eph.* 305.1, whence *PHI* 1074. Published by Roueché, 'Image', 6.

Standing to the north of *I.Eph* 306, at the right hand end of the row.

A re-used base, with panels on three sides. Line 1 cut on the moulding of the base capital, which is separate.

Plate 11.

B(ona) *vacat* F(ortuna)
 fortissimo principi
 iuventutis *vac.* d(omino) n(ostro)
 Maximiano nobil(issimo)
 5 Caesari
 Iun(ius) Tiberianus v(ir) c(larissimus)
 proco(n)s(ul) Asiae d(evotus) n(umini) m(aiestati-)
 que eius.

Translation: To Good Fortune. To the most strong *princeps iuventutis*, our lord the most noble Maximian Caesar. Iunius Tiberianus, v.c., proconsul of Asia, being devoted to his divinity and his majesty.

If the present locations of the bases are original, the Augusti were therefore shown next to each other's Caesars; Heinz Kähler suggested that this indicated the intertwined nature of the tetrarchy.²⁰ But it is possible that, either in antiquity or during the modern restoration, the position of Diocletian and Maximian was reversed: Diocletian would originally have stood in the place of honour, to the

¹⁹ Recorded by Miltner, *SkB* 2750, and published by him *JÖAI* 44 (1959) Beibl. 266-268 (PH), whence *AE* 1967, 477; cf. Malcus, *OAth* 7 (1967) 94, no. III; from these *I.Eph.* 305.3, whence *PHI* 1076. Published by Roueché, 'Image', 7. Illustrated: *JÖAI* 44 (1959) Beibl., 281, plate 130.

²⁰ H. Kähler, *Das Fünfsäulenendenkmal für die Tetrarchen auf dem Forum Romanum* (Köln 1964), 6, whence I. Kalevresou-Maxeiner, 'The Imperial Chamber at Luxor', *DOP* 29 (1975), 225-51, 247.

right (the viewer's left) This is perhaps reinforced by the order of the statues at the Hydreion, where Diocletian stood to the left (for the viewer) of Maximian.

The statue and base for Maximian apparently suffered *damnatio*, presumably on the orders of Constantine and Licinius. Lactantius describes Constantine as having images of Maximian destroyed in 314-18.²¹ It appears that this policy was applied by Licinius in the East, since the image of Maximian was also removed from the tetrarchic frescoes in the Temple at Luxor.²² Constantine reversed this policy after 318, which suggest that these removals took place between 314 and 318, and not after Constantine took control of the East in 324.²³ There was, consequently, a period, probably of many decades, during which there was an empty base – or perhaps a base with a headless statue – standing in this group. A dramatic change took place however at some point between 379 and 387, when Nummius Aemilianus Dexter, who was proconsul of Asia, replaced the empty base with a base and statue honouring Theodosius, the disgraced father of the emperor Theodosius I.²⁴

***I.Eph. 306 Honours for Theodosius the elder.*²⁵**

Found standing in front of the 'Temple of Hadrian'; last recorded (2007) restored in situ, north (right) of the entrance and south (left) of I.Eph. 305.1.

A base with simple moulding above and below on three sides. Line 1 is cut on the moulding of the base capital, which is separate, and was found on I.Eph.

²¹ Lact. *Mort Pers.* 42.1.

²² See Kalevresou-Maxeiner, 'The Imperial Chamber', 244, 247; cf J.G. Deckers, 'Die Wandmalerei im Kaiserkultraum von Luxor', *JDAI* 94 (1979) 600-652, 644.

²³ On all this see E. R. Varner, *Mutilation and Transformation* (Brill 2004), 214-15.

²⁴ *PLRE* 1 Dexter 3.

²⁵ Recorded by Miltner, *SkB* 2764, *JÖAI* 44 (1959) 267-273, whence *AE* 1967, 479, Malcus, *Oath* 7 (1967) 119-120, *I.Eph.* 306, whence *PHI* 2991. Illustrated: *JÖAI* 44 (1959) Beibl., 281, plate 131. Published by Roueché, 'Image', 20.

305.2 (see above); line 2 is cut on the face. There are traces of the lead which held the statue: 'noch Bleieinguss vorhanden für linken Fuss.'

Plate 12

b(ona) f(ortuna)
 b(ona) f(ortuna)
 nobilissimae memoriae
 viro Theodosio
 5 d(omini) n(ostri) Theodosii Aug(usti) patri,
 Numm(ius) Aemilianus
 v(ir) c(larissimus) proc(onsul) Asiae dedicavit.
leaf

Translation: {To Good Fortune.} To Good Fortune. To the man of most noble memory, Theodosius, father of our lord Theodosius Augustus. Nummius Aemilianus, v.c., proconsul of Asia, dedicated (the statue).

This undertaking might also have provided the occasion to re-order the central statues, giving the new one the position of honour.²⁶ The intervention would seem to be a very dramatic one. But it seems to present part of an imperial display honouring the Theodosian house which extended from the Herakles gate – in which the tetrarchs, and perhaps also Trajan, were to be closely associated with the house of Theodosius. It may be, also, that this is the occasion for the

²⁶ Suggested by Deckers, 'Die Wandmalerei', 18-20. His argument is perhaps weakened by the fact that he takes the statue to be of the emperor Theodosius, rather than of his father, who is perhaps less likely to have been given precedence over Diocletian.

repair, with new reliefs, of the temple of Hadrian in front of which these bases stood.²⁷

These honours seem to have marked out the Kuretenstrasse as an imperial space. That status is further suggested by the development to which Denis Feissel has drawn attention in his very important study of the display of inscribed government documents at Ephesos.²⁸ As he has shown, from this point in the Kuretenstrasse – just opposite the ‘Temple of Hadrian’ to the Theatre end of the Marmorstrasse, a series of imperial documents – from the emperors or from imperial officials – were displayed. This series seems to have begun under Constantius II, with a letter dateable between 340 and 359, which was apparently inscribed facing the Temple of Hadrian. Thereafter, further documents were inscribed – most strikingly, the two letters of Valens, inscribed on the Octogon PLATE 13 xxx – in a sequence which proceeded, over time, down the Kuretenstrasse, to its end (7 documents, of which the last can be dated between 527 and 565), and then along the Marmorstrasse (seven documents, all apparently of the sixth or later sixth century, of which the two that can be dated are from 569 and 585).

The location of those documents suggests that we cannot see the Kuretenstrasse as ending at the Library of Celsus. For these purposes, at least, the street includes what we describe as the Marmorstrasse, and perhaps only ends in front of the Theatre. It is perhaps important to note that in front of the Theatre the Arcadiane – the road to the harbour, named for Arcadius, son of Theodosius I – began, with a gateway, which is almost entirely lost (Plate 14). At that gate seem to have

²⁷ H. Jobst, ‘Zur Bau- und Bildkunst der Spätantike in Ephesos’, in *Pro Arte Antiqua*, Festschrift für H. Kenner, (Vienna 1985) II 191-206, 201, summarises the previous discussions and supports a Theodosian date.

²⁸ D. Feissel, ‘Épigraphie administrative et topographie urbaine: l’emplacement des actes inscrits dans l’Éphèse protobyzantine (IVe-VIe s.)’, in R. Pillinger, O. Kresten, F. Krinzing, E. Russo, edd., *Efeso Paleocristiana e Bizantina*, (Vienna 1999), 121-132.

stood four statues bases; only one survives, but the markings show where the other three stood. (see Plate 16). The surviving base was re-used to honour, in Latin, an emperor of the fourth or fifth century.

I.Eph. 1318²⁹

Standing on the upper step of the two steps at the east end of the Arcadiane; last recorded (2007) slightly moved from the position where it was set into the roadway, showing the markings of its positioning on the paving. See Plate 14. The lower part of a base.

One face, now to the east bears the remainder of an inscription, in Greek, for a local benefactor

a.

[. . .]η[. . .]

[. . .]του δ[. . .]

[. ἀγω]νοθέτη[ν] τῆς [. . .]

[. . . δ]ος καὶ ἑαυτο[ῦ]

5 [εὖ]εργέτην.

The adjacent face, now to the south, carries a formula typical of a dedication to a late antique emperor:

Plate 15

b.

. . .]

[. . . vice sacr]a iudicans

²⁹ Recorded by Benndorf in 1896, *SkB* 187, whence *CIL* III 14195.33; from these *I.Eph.* 1318, whence *PHI* 2997. Published by Roueché, 'Image', 22.

[dev]otus numini

[?pi]etatique eius

Line 3 *mai]etati* (sic) editors.

Translation: a: [. . .] contest-president [. . .] benefactor.

b: . . .] devoted to his divinity and [?pie]ty

Another fragment, found in the area, is from the base of a statue of Honorius:

I.Eph. 316³⁰

Found by eastern gate of Arcadiane in 1900; not recorded subsequently.

Fragment from a statue base.

[d(omino)] n(ostro) Fl(avio) Honorio

[d]octo principi

[pe]rpetuo Aug[usto]

[semp]er [triumphatori.]

[. . .

Translation: For our lord Flavius Honorius, learned prince, Augustus for ever,
always victorious [. . .

The restorations of this fragment are based on analogies with other similar texts.

It seems likely that a quartet of emperors were honoured here: this could have been the tetrarchs, or the Theodosian family. The latter grouping could perhaps

³⁰ Recorded by Heberdey, *SkB* 578, whence *I.Eph.* 316 and Add. p.8, whence *PHI* 2992. Published by Roueché, 'Image', 21.

have given the street the name Arcadiane, which is attested in an inscription (*I.Eph.* 557).

We can therefore trace a series of imperial honours, dating from the last years of the third century to the late years of the fourth, from the Hydreion to the top of the Arkadiane. We now know that a series of imperial documents, dating from the mid fourth to the late sixth century, ran from the mid Embolos along the Marmorstrasse.

But as well as these dignified monuments of imperial power, we also have some evidence of the ceremonial associated with them. The inscriptions of the Green faction, associated with the statue of Aelia Flaccilla, have been mentioned. From the lower Kuretenstrasse northwards, we have a series of acclamations for emperors – Phocas, Heraclius, and unnamed emperors, together with some acclamations for the factions. These have been published elsewhere.³¹ Two sets of acclamations were cut on the capitals of the colonnade on the east side of the lower Kuretenstrasse.³² One (with probably a balancing partner) was cut on the Hadrianstor.³³ Several were cut on the columns of the west side of the Marmorstrasse. These include acclamations for Phocas,³⁴ and for Heraclius and his family; the latter can be dated to between May 3rd and August 3rd 612.³⁵ Further acclamations were inscribed on the doorpost³⁶ and on a column of the

³¹ C. Roueché, 'Looking for Late Antique Ceremonial: Ephesos and Aphrodisias'. H. Friesinger - F. Krinzinger edd., *100 Jahre Österreichische Forschungen in Ephesos. Akten des Symposions Wien 1995* (Vienna, 1999), 161-8.

³² Roueché, 'Ceremonial', nos. 12 and 13

³³ Roueché, 'Ceremonial', no. 7.

³⁴ Roueché, 'Ceremonial', no. 3.

³⁵ Roueché, 'Ceremonial', nos 4 and 6, with C. Roueché, 'From Aphrodisias to Stauropolis' in J. Drinkwater and R. Salway edd., *Wolf Liebeschuetz reflected* (London, 2007), 183-192.

³⁶ Roueché, 'Ceremonial', no. 2.

Neronische Halle.³⁷ The street ends with a gateway, which bears acclamations for Christian emperors (unnamed).

This material suggests that the Kuretenstrasse presented a display of imperial power which was actively acknowledged and celebrated there. I have discussed elsewhere the possible implications for everyday activity of the obtrusive presence of the imperial image.³⁸ An important change in its use was clearly indicated by the construction of the Herakles Gate, at an uncertain date probably in the fourth century. That gate clearly breaks the line of connection between the tetrarchic statues at the Hydreion and the Temple of Hadrian. It might be associated with the creation of a new space under Constantius II, which then accommodated the series of imperial documents. It could also be associated with the creation of the Theodosian decorative programme, which seems to take the Gate as its starting point. It may be that it should be associated with the modifications of the gate at the east end of the Arcadiane. It is not clear whether, after that remodelling, we should see the Kuretenstrasse as the ordinary daily thoroughfare which it is for us and for thousands of tourists. Instead, we seem to have a new kind of ceremonial space for the statement of imperial power and for its acknowledgement. That space was clearly still being used as late as the summer of 612; there is evidence, discussed elsewhere in this volume, for dramatic changes at the site in 616. These considerations need to be kept in mind in investigations of the fortifications erected on the Theatre hill; it is to be hoped that further excavation may clarify the order of events in this area, and, in so

³⁷ For the column inscription, missed by me in the earlier article, see Roueché, 'Silence', 231-2.

³⁸ Roueché, 'Image'.

doing, contribute to a better understanding of Asia Minor in the early and middle seventh century.

Abbreviations:

Most are standard, except perhaps for:

PHI Donald F. McCabe, *Ephesos Inscriptions. Texts and List*. «The Princeton Project on the Inscriptions of Anatolia», The Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton (1991). Packard Humanities Institute CD #6, 1991; now available at <http://epigraphy.packhum.org>